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Mind and Body.

With nations as with individuals, the harmony and free development of life can only be attained by exercising its principal functions boldly and without fear. These functions are of two kinds, one set of them increasing the happiness of the mind, another set increasing the happiness of the body. If we could suppose a man completely perfect, we should take for granted that he would unite these two forms of pleasure in the highest degree, and would extract from both body and mind every enjoyment consistent with his own happiness and with the happiness of others. But as no such character can be found, it invariably occurs that even the wisest of us are unable to hold the balance; we therefore err—some in over-indulging the body, some in over-indulging the mind. Comparing one set of indulgences with the other, there can be no doubt that the intellectual pleasures are in many respects superior to the physical; they are more ennobling; they are less liable to cause satiety in the individual, and they produce more good to the species. But for one person who can enjoy intellectual pleasures, there are at least a hundred who can enjoy physical pleasures. The happiness derived from gratifying the senses being thus diffused over a wider area, and satisfying, at any given moment, a greater number of persons than the other form of happiness is capable of, does on that account possess an importance which many who call themselves philosophers are unwilling to recognize. Too often have philosophic and speculative thinkers, by a foolish denunciation of such pleasures, done all in their power to curtail the quantity of happiness of which Humanity is susceptible.

But though philosophers have failed in their effort to lessen the pleasures of mankind, there is another body of men, who, in making the same attempt, have met with far greater success. I mean,

of course, the theologians, who, considered as a class, have, in every country and in every age, deliberately opposed themselves to gratifications which are essential to the happiness of an overwhelming majority of the human race. Praising up a god of their own creation, whom they hold out as a lover of penance, of sacrifice, and of mortification, hence they forbid enjoyments which are not only innocent, but praiseworthy; for every enjoyment by which no one is injured is innocent, and every innocent enjoyment is praiseworthy, because it assists in diffusing that spirit of content and satisfaction which is favorable to the practice of benevolence towards others. The theologians, however, cultivate an opposite spirit, and whenever they have possessed power, they have always prohibited a large number of pleasurable actions on the ground that such actions are offensive to the deity. That they have no warrant for this, and that they are simply indulging peremptory assertions on subjects respecting which we have no trustworthy information, is well known to those, who, impartially and without pre-conceived bias, have studied their arguments and the evidence which they adduce. On this, however, I need not dilate, for inasmuch as men are, almost every year and certainly every generation, becoming more accustomed to close and accurate reasoning, just in the same proportion is the conviction spreading that theologians proceed from arbitrary assumptions, for which they have no proof, except by appealing to other assumptions equally unproven. Their whole system reposes upon fear, and upon fear of the worst kind, since, according to them, the Great Author of our being has used his omnipotence in so cruel a manner as to endow his creatures with tastes, instincts and desires, which he not only forbids them to gratify, but which, if they do gratify, shall bring on themselves eternal punishment.

—[Buckle's History of Civilization.]

It is necessary to the happiness of man, that he be mentally faithful to himself.—[Thomas Paine.]

"Two Theories; or the Infidel's Mistake."

[Concluded.]

The argument with believers in immortality begins and ends with the assumption that among human beings there is universal *desire* for it. Then comes the personal appeal to know if we do not ourselves desire future life. My reply is that I desire to live; and doubtless shall continue so to desire while my vitality continues to be anything like what it is at present. My desire is for the protraction of my life by all proper means. To be made to believe that it could be extended through a hundred, a thousand, or a million of years of improvement in enjoyment and usefulness, would, for aught I can conceive, greatly enhance my present enjoyment.

Understand me:—this pertains to *life*—life such as I know of, improved and capable of improvement indefinitely. In regard to any other existence, before I could desire it, I should need to know what there is, or is to be, of it. It would have to be something entirely different from what Christians point out to me from their book and their pulpit—different from any thing I have yet been able to conceive of as possible.

I said I supposed my desire to live would be in proportion to my continued vitality. My observation is that all living beings and things lose desire to live in proportion as they lose hold on life.

To cultivate desire for existence we know nothing of, and can know nothing of, is to neglect life we know of and need to know more of. This, to me, is unphilosophical and harmful.

To repent the idea then—what has been by some thought to be desire for *future* life has in reality been desire for *further* life—for living on—for living long—for living indefinitely. It is simply aversion to dying. The horror of annihilation we have heard so much about, is horror of having our eyes closed upon this beautiful world and the glorious heavens—our ears shut to their enchanting and electrifying sounds—our hearts made to cease throbbing toward affectionate friends and loved ones—our nerves made to stop thrilling in response to thoughts coming to us from congenial thinkers. In our ignorance, we have not been able to escape liability to being cut off in the midst of life and conditions for enjoyment. Hence the horror of annihilation. It is horrifying to think of being annihilated when there is so much to annulilate as there is while in full tide of vitality.

My own present feeling is that I would like to prolong the present life indefinitely. But I do not expect always to have this feeling. If I could have known enough, in time past, to live philosophically, live naturally, live in true relations with things—

and if I could go on thus living to the end—I have no doubt that I could die as philosophically as a tree. Nature prepared her own unperverted children as well for dying as for living. It is not natural to die in the midst of life. Hence the clinging to life in proportion as there is vitality.

The idea of future existence—and especially of an improved state of things in that existence—so far as it is fully and practically entertained, tends to weaken the hold on the present life. In proportion as there is any sincerity, any soundness of faith, connected with the idea of future life, the tendency must be inevitably to a letting go and neglect of the present life, and a comparative undervaluing of all pertaining to it. Whereas, on the other hand, the idea that this life is all, should lead to making the most of it and the best of it—to lengthening it and improving it by all possible means—to adapting it to rational and real enjoyment, such as arises to intellectual and moral beings, from imparting and receiving good.

The idea of future existence is therefore demoralizing and depraving. It disqualifies for doing and enjoying the most good in the present. It puts off accountability. It separates and removes the consequences, to be seen to by and by. It undervalues "the life that now is." Says "'tis a dream, an empty show," compared to "the bright world to which we go." If I am cited to the best specimens of humanity hampered by religion, in confutation of this view, I say in reply that their good conduct is from their noble natural organizations, in spite of their demoralizing religion.

All this preparing to die is just so much waste of life. 'Tis a most unnatural, suicidal perversion.—My precious first-born child—who died at twenty-one, worn out at that early age of devotion to purity and goodness, to peace and righteousness—used to say to me:—"Father, they tell us to 'prepare to die'—I think it better to prepare to *live*." His Father thought so too—and thinks so still. "Prepare to meet thy God," says the Bible. Prepare to meet thine own views of propriety, regardless of gods, says rational philosophy. Devotion to the interests of gods is destructive of the interests of men. 'Tis unmanly self-abasement. 'Tis cowardly self-enslavement. 'Tis exchanging light for darkness. 'Tis acceptance of the unknown, to the displacement of the known.

The future is too far off. Other worlds are too far off. Present motives are more reliable and effective. Bolts and bars of iron and walls of stone in sight, are more effective moral restraints than all hells out of sight. The joys of imparting and receiving—of doing good to others and having others

do good to us—in this world we know of and exist in, is more than all heavens, in worlds we know not of, and have no certainty of existence in. Hope in the future is license for neglect of the present. They who commit crimes that take them out of this world have hope in a pardoning god. That hope lessens restraint—gives license. Belief in the future leads to the study of theology—of gods—to the neglect of ourselves. It appoints protracted meetings, to the neglect of seed-time and harvest; and national fasts, instead of putting traitors and conspirators in irons. Disbelief in the future, letting the gods go, tends to the study of ourselves—of physiology, intellectuality, morality and sociality. This is the true wisdom—the sure enjoyment.

The great question is to know what secures the best conduct and conditions here in the present.—Because all will agree that present well doing, securing present well being, is the best possible preparation for what ever is before us, nearer at hand or farther off.

Brother Overton *"believes"* he has lived in the past. I wish he had thought to give us his reasons for thus believing. Have no doubt they would have been just as good as any he can give for believing he will live in the future. How long has he had existence in the past, does he believe? Eternally? Has he been all this while improving? Then how much of a beginning had he? Or, according to his doctrine of "the fall," has he been going downward eternally? What then is he coming to by and by? And when is he coming to it? Or, has it been an eternal falling and rising—rising and falling—with him? There is a doctrine—that has sometimes been accepted by some old-fashioned reasoners—which says that things which have beginnings must have endings. Does Brother Overton's belief touching past and future existence—including his doctrine of falling and rising, and rising and falling—involve an eternity of beginnings and endings, like the beginnings and endings of new and old moons? These doctrines of past and future existences, and of fallings and risings and risings and fallings, are great doctrines.

But what of progress? Can he conceive of progress without beginning or ending? What then is progress? Is it a perpetuity of falling and rising and rising and falling? Is it a perpetual and perfect going round in a perpetual and perfect circle? But where is there such a circle? Not in the Earth's movements—nor in any of its conditions;—nor in the movements or conditions of any other body, or any being or thing that we know any thing of. The Earth never was before *what* it is now or *where* it is now; and it is now what it never will be again and where it never will be again. So of all other

bodies—of all other existences—we know any thing about.

This idea and fact of perpetual change, eternal change, is annihilation of the idea of any perpetual, eternal sameness—any perpetual, eternal identity—of any individual being or thing, possessing power to create or power to be created.

I suppose that the assumption one way has involved him in the assumption the other way. To justify himself in assuming that he is to continue to live eternally, he finds it necessary to assume that he has lived eternally. His annunciation of his belief that he has lived in the past, is virtual concession to the soundness of the old-time reasoning, that things which have beginnings must have endings. Well then, what description can C. M. Overton give of himself as an individual in existence a million of years ago? Was it in connection with this Earth? Or was it in some other connection? Does he think his own existence has been longer, or shorter, than the existence of our Earth? Or does he think the existence of both have run parallel? What was his own condition when the Earth was gas? And what was his previous condition—if he had previous condition? And what have been his several and perpetually changing conditions, during the Earth's progress? For the Earth is a *progressive* individual, with beginning and ending, as an individual—as I must think all other individual existences we know any thing about are. The gods are, certainly. No man now has such a god as any man ever had before—so far as we can know any thing about it.

Then what of propagation? Has Brother Overton always been a propagating being? If not, when and where did his propagating powers commence?—and when and where will they end? Is he himself the product of propagating powers? What is propagation? Is it multiplication of individuals? If it is, are propagators individuals without beginnings and without endings? Is there any such thing as multiplication of individuals? Or have there always been just as many as there are now? And will there always be just so many? If otherwise—if there be such a thing as multiplication of individuals—then there must have been, and must continue to be, beginnings and endings of individuals; and this again annihilates the idea of eternal individual existence, or identity.

And finally what of waste and supply?—of exhaustion and compensation? If there is to be constant creation of individuals to be perpetuated without exhaustion or waste of the individuals, the time will come when the material to be used for creation will have been used up. Has he always been a thing

of waste and supply? If so, has this been regular? And if so, what has been the regulator? Has it been regulated by supernatural, arbitrary power uniformly applied? If otherwise, has it been an eternal irregularity, and is it to continue to be such? Is not the process of waste and supply a process of perpetual change, so the subject of it is no two moments of its existence the same being or thing? Is it not a perpetual process of new combinations, involving beginnings and endings?

Does any one in response here say that, although a man changes perpetually throughout his existence, he is recognized throughout his existence as the same identical individual? Not so—except by those who change with him and go along with him throughout his changes. No one seeing an individual of three-score years and ten, only at the first and the last, could identify the individual at the last. Oftener than otherwise half this term of time will change an individual beyond recognition by any one who has been absent during the changes. As well talk of the eternal existence of our Globe as of the eternal existence of a man. O. S. M.

Success in Life.

A shrewd intelligent man of the world, and one, too, who had been eminently successful, once said to me—"The longer I live the more convinced I am that over-sensitiveness is a great mistake in a public man." He might have said in all men who desire success in life.

Now I wish to be understood that what is expressed here by the word "over-sensitiveness" does not signify over-scrupulousness. Be as scrupulous as you will; but do not be over-sensitive on the score of pride, or vanity, or dominate egotism. Every successful man, you may be sure, has had much to mortify him in the course of his career. He has borne many rebuffs; he has sustained many failures. What if men do not understand you—are not inclined to encourage you, and exercise the privilege of age or superior position—bear it with all.

"Hard words break no bones," saith the proverb. And they break no spirit that is not of the feeblest. The world may laugh at your failures—what then? Try again and perhaps they will not laugh. Try once more, and perhaps it will be your turn to laugh. "He who wins may laugh," saith another proverb. If you have the right stuff in you, you will not be put down. If we have the right stuff in us, these failures at the outset are grand materials of success. To the feeble, of course, stumbling-blocks. The wretched weakling goes no further; he lags behind and subsides into a life of failure.

And so by this great winnowing, the number of athletes in the great Olympics of life is restricted to a few, and there is clear space in the arena.

There is scarcely an old man among us—an old successful man—who will not willingly admit that he has made by his failures, and that what he once thought his hard fate was in reality his good fortune.—[Thackeray.]

Humanity vs. Priests.

As theological opinions have stood in the way of human progress, so have religious teachers and leaders, true to their creeds, proved themselves the greatest foes to progressive movements in all ages. Scarce one of a hundred among the priests of this Nation put forth a single well-directed effort for the cessation of crime. Zealously laboring to save the soul through regeneration, they overlook the importance to the world of a proper generation and a correct education. Thirty thousand clergymen in this Country, not content with preaching total depravity from the pulpit, issue biennial volumes of living testimony illustrative of their discourses—children in whom the necessity for a second birth, and, perhaps, a third or fourth, is clearly manifest! Graciously receiving these living duplicates of themselves as "God's gifts," and seeing in them evidences of depravity, they come to accept each regular "providence" of this sort as a new endorsement from high authority of their own conceptions of the degeneracy of human nature. Thus is the evil self-perpetuating, and three hundred thousand deacons and elders who listen to these regeneration sermons, add their quota to the regular issue of defaced copies of poor originals—a race of beings cursed by their own creators with feeble frames, puny intellects, and saddened souls. And who shall write the history of the wives of these thousands—of the mothers of this host of victimized, existence-cursed children? Who may know the depth of degradation and despair through which this excessive maternity has been forced upon them?

In their associated capacities, clergymen are nice sticklers for trifling denominational differences, strenuous defenders of points of doctrine, but criminally unmindful of the deeper, more essential wants and necessities of the people. Indeed, if there were the only efforts for advancement, mankind would lapse into barbarism. Those who ought to be our teachers, are slowest to accept the first idea of improvement, and exhibit the most profound ignorance and amazing stupidity respecting man's most vital interests. Ecclesiastical courts have been greatly exercised concerning the marriage of a man to his deceased wife's sister, but are as silent as

"dumb dogs" upon the marriage of first cousins, that prolific source of disease, idiocy and crime. Indeed, our laws, civil as well as ecclesiastical, while encompassing marriage itself with a hedge of legal thorns, making it next to impossible to escape an unhallowed bondage, overlook entirely the marriage of blood relations, or of immature, half-grown children, which are adding to the victims of our asylums, hospitals and jails.

Of the many sources of crime to be found in outward circumstantial relations, none are more prolific than unhappy marriages, none more fatal to the next generation. Yet for their relief there exist few provisions in law and trifling encouragement in public sentiment. Concerning most other causes of crime, society makes some, though far too little, allowance. But a misalliance in marriage, though an abundant source of social inharmony and legal crime, is hardly recognized as an evil, and its victims are oftener censured than commiserated for that which may be their misfortune, but is not their fault.—[Charles M. Plumb.

Why Should Parsons be Exempt?

There is no profession which renders its members exempt from military duty, except that of expounding theology. Certain positions temporarily held, like that of judges, have this effect. But why should the church-militant be relieved from lending a hand to carry on the war? The parsons have done more than any other class to create the present troubles; and now that the war is upon us, they are privileged to stand by and look on, and lend no other aid than mumbling cant and mouthing texts of scripture. They do not even follow the example of Government employes, and find substitutes. There are enough of them in the country to form a brigade, and if they are the special interpreters of the Lord's will, they could secure the co-operation of the celestial powers, the "gods and heavenly essences," whose oracles they are. They criticize the conduct of the war, and the action of the President and the generals, but keep at a safe distance from the scene of danger. They indulge in no familiarity with explosive combustibles except the sulphur and brimstone with which they frighten weak-minded sinners into making liberal accessions to the contribution-box. They are generally pampered, able-bodied fellows, who would make excellent fighting material, if their pluck is equal to their physique. They would be infinitely more serviceable in the ranks of the army than in pounding the pulpit and expatiating on the awful consequences of original sin and total depravity.

—[New York Sunday Mercury.

Jesus.

(Continued.)

Jesus frequently laid down a law of his kingdom, which is demonstrated to be an unalterable law of our spiritual nature: That whoever exalts himself shall be humbled; and whoever humbles himself shall be exalted. He laid much stress upon this—upon child-like humility—its necessity to citizenship in his kingdom, and to true happiness. Real spiritual exaltation ever follows humility—is a necessary result of it. The most exalted are the truly humble before God. His obtuse followers were often contending who should be the greatest in his kingdom. He always told them the humblest was and should be the greatest. And to impress the lesson indelibly on their minds, and to settle the contention forever, at the last supper he took water and washed their feet, saying, "If I, your master, have condescended to wash your feet, leave seeking the highest seats, or who shall be greatest among you."

There appeared to be a wonderful obtuseness in his followers in comprehending the nature or spirit of his reign, mistaking it for a dispensation of fire (which they wished to call down on his opponents) instead of one of mercy.

It would seem that Christ was for some time aware what would be the consequences to him of his mission, and gave intimations of it to his followers; but they could or would not understand or believe him. As he more nearly approached his sufferings, he manifested that shrinking from them so common to Humanity. He was not stoical—did not countenance that philosophy theoretically or practically, but cried out, "Father, save me from this hour!" His soul was troubled—he immediately added though, "But I came on purpose for this hour." He *shrank* from, but did not *choose* to shun his martyrdom for the cause of truth and virtue.

In the 20th Chapter of Luke we find several interesting exhibitions of the wisdom of Jesus, in his answers to the crafty Jewish leaders, in their efforts to draw from him matter for reproach or condemnation against him. One of these cases is that of the spies who, personating conscientious enquirers, asked him if it was lawful to pay taxes to Caesar or not. Again they thought to secure their victim by a two-horned dilemma. Should he say pay, they thought to render him unpopular and odious to the Jews; should he advise not to pay, they would arraign him before the Roman tribunal, deliver him to the power and authority of the Procurator of Judea, as a teacher of sedition and treason. But the wisdom of his reply to this question has passed into a prov-

erb. "Render," says he, "to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and to God that which is God's." The malignant querists could but admire his answer, and kept silence.

Conscious as he was of his approaching fate, he relaxed not from the duties of his mission—continued to the last to teach and illustrate his doctrines to his disciples, and to warn Pharisees plainly and solemnly. He taught that purity of motive consecrates the deed, in the case of the poor widow casting her two mites into the treasury. Exhibited his prophetic spirit in foretelling Jerusalem's fate, and other things and events in the future, in a most sublime and beautifully figurative manner.

He appeared to forget his own approaching fate in his sympathy for Jerusalem. "How often," says he, "would I have gathered thy children together as a hen gathers her brood under her wings, but you would not. Your temple is left unto you desolate." He was about leaving it for the last time.

The fickle and undiscerning populace did indeed give him a triumphant entry into the city. Perhaps they thought he was going to commence his reign. But he knew he was going to martyrdom—entering Zion, that city of beautiful solemnities, for the last time!

After reading attentively the 7th Chapter of John, which is full of some of his most pointed reasoning and inspired eloquence, and which resulted in the Chief Priests dispatching officers to seize him,—for one I must say that nothing to my mind is more true, than the report of the officers as an excuse for not having apprehended Jesus. "Never," said they, "man spake like this man." Their awe and admiration at his teachings of wisdom and virtue, disarmed their resolution and captivated their hearts. The haughty Pharisees retorted, "Are you also seduced?" and proudly inquired, "Have any of the Pharisees or Rulers believed on him?" and scornfully continued, "But this populace, which knows not the law, is accursed." The natural language of aristocracy in all ages. To cap the climax of their unreasonableness and inhumanity, they thought and talked of even putting the innocent Lazarus to death also, for suffering himself to be raised from the dead by Jesus.

It seems before going up to Jerusalem for the last time, Jesus had done all the good he could. It was only by his consummate wisdom that he had succeeded in scattering so much truth without exciting a seditious outbreak among the people. Between the enthusiasm of the populace in his favor, and the hatred of his foes, he had a difficult path to follow. And the time had come when he must renounce his pretensions or die. He resolved to re-

main true to his calling; and seeing that he must die, he resolved to die in Jerusalem, the capital of the Nation. He chose then to lay down his life deliberately, and where it would be most public; and he did so. He would not resist the authority of the State, for he was not a worldly Messiah. He would not by word or conduct deny his Messiahship. Accordingly his only duty was to meet death; for no further deliverance remained to him while within the path of his calling. Life was doubtless dear to him, and so long as he could, consistently with his calling, he sought to preserve it. But he chose to die, rather than to live falsely; and he voluntarily laid down his life—sacrificed himself to his work. Both Dr. Furness and Hase, a learned German author, agree in this view of the matter, and I believe it correct.

It has been plausibly contended that Jesus was the Hebrew Messiah and more—that he exceeded and will far transcend the predictions and expectations of the Jewish Prophets—that he was the desire of all nations, and will yet fulfill and meet the highest expectations of Humanity. He is infinitely ahead of the present actual world. What faint glimpses it catches of the spirit of Jesus, the just, the merciful!

But to return to the narrative. Some time after the triumphant entrance into Jerusalem, amidst the hosannas of the people, we see him seated at the table with his immediate followers, including the treacherous Judas, and upon the announcement of the perfidy of one of them, even he with the rest (but hypocritically) asked, "Lord, is it I?" It is thought that Jesus spake in a very low tone when he said "It is," for the others did not appear to hear it. It has also been remarked that it might have been expected that Judas was capable of any baseness, from the fact that he had so long resisted the influence of Christ's example—it had failed to reform his coarse and dishonest habits of mind and life; and the event proved that for a paltry reward he made his name to be for all coming time synonymous with infamy and guilt.

Against the peaceful spirit of Jesus it might be argued that just before his arrest he spoke to his disciples about buying a sword. But it is very reasonably doubted whether he really or literally *meant* that they should sell their garments for swords. He was very likely speaking by contrast and figuratively. But his disciples understood him in a literal sense, and said, "Here are two swords," fancying (notwithstanding he had told them that he sent them forth as sheep among wolves) that he recommended them to arm themselves. He replied, "It is enough!" with a sigh of disappointment

to find that their obtuse minds were still blind to the true posture of affairs.

With regard to his consolatory address and warnings to them, found in the 14th, 15th and 16th Chapters of John, I will only say, if any one can read them with a full knowledge of all the circumstances of their delivery, without emotion, the sensibilities of his nature are not to be envied.

Of his prayer, recorded in the next or 17th Chapter, Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., (whom I have been following in this compilation) remarks: "We are overcome with admiration, that one about to perish by a violent and ignominious death, should exhibit this consciousness of an intimate union with the supreme—should lift himself above the present, and speak of the invisible and eternal as if *familiar* with their glories, and as if the grandest purposes of the Divine Government were connected with his own fate. We know that no one before him had thus spoken, and we are led involuntarily to exclaim with the centurion, 'Truly this was the Son of God.'"

But in the trying period at and just preceding his arrest, that human shrinking from his approaching fate appeared again to return to him. Yes, those were sorrowful moments to one of his sensibilities, when a sleeping lethargy seemed to have seized all his friends, and he stood alone in the period which was to try his soul. "Father, if thou wilt, take this cup away from me!" escaped his lips.

His intuitive powers saw the approach of his murderers, led on by the deceitful Judas. The clangor of their arms appeared to arouse the sleepy disciples, who made a faint show of resistance. But they were quickly reprov'd for it by their Master, who in his remarks at this time most plainly condemned the spirit of war. His followers forsook him, and the officers took him before the Jewish authorities for trial. At this trial not one spoke a word in his favor. He was shamefully used before the commencement of his trial by the officers, and after being put upon trial received a blow in the tribunal of justice. Though the witnesses disagreed in their testimony about him, he was condemned for blasphemy, for saying that he was the Son of the Highest, though he had produced ample testimony in favor of his Messiahship. Additional indignities were heaped upon him after he was condemned by the Jewish Sanhedrim. Two only of his disciples followed him to his trial, but dare say nothing in his favor, and one of them even denied that he knew him, and that too with an oath, which is generally more apt to attend a lie than the truth. A look from the meek sufferer called him to repentance, and he afterwards became an active agent in his arisen Master's cause. Judas, too, after he saw

that his Master was condemned, (it is thought by some that he expected he would deliver himself by his peculiar power,) repented—so it says—but he did not reform. His sorrow was that of despair. Like many others—like most very wicked people after they have done their worst, they are seized with remorse; and in his remorse he committed suicide.

After Christ was brought before the Roman tribunal, Pilate and his wife made some effort to save him—they did all that was done in his favor. Pilate appears to have been a well-meaning kind of man, but not of sufficiently stern principle to resist the popular clamor, and the crafty malice of the Jewish leaders, who, when all other means were likely to fail them, told them that if he let Jesus go he would be a traitor to his Emperor. They then touched a vulnerable point—the fear of an accusation against him of treason controlled his decision, and he condemned the innocent to save himself from apprehended trouble.

X. P.

[To be Continued.]

Colonization.

The whole colonization scheme never appeared to us more detestable and wicked than at this moment. At a time when Emancipation seems to be a National necessity, and when the wisest and best statesmen in the National councils are lifting up their voices in favor of employing the sable arm of the Nation for the salvation of the Country, when man is on the point of attaining a position in the land of his birth, the satanic spirit of colonization, craftily veiling itself in the livery of Heaven, and speaking in the name of Divine providence, proceeds with more than usual vigor to unchain, and let loose upon us, all the malignant and satanic influences of the Country.

The colonization agents and the persecuting mob co-operate. Colonization gives life and vigor to popular prejudice, gives it an air of philosophy, piety and respectability, and the violence of the mob gives the facts to sustain their pious negrobating theories.

Thus they act and re-act, to one common end: the mob furnishing brickbats and pistols, and the colonization agents and papers furnishing arguments and piety.

No attempt is made to correct the injustice and wrong done the black man here; no attempt is made to remove the unholy feeling of caste. On the contrary this malignant feeling is the grand ally of the whole colonization scheme, without which its very foundation would be utterly swept away.—[Douglass' Monthly.]

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The New Government.

The "NEW REPUBLIC" means a New Government. This Paper, bearing that name, though it was intended to subserve other important ends, as a reform paper, would never have been started but for the confident belief that the present Government would soon be overthrown, and that in the probable event following, of the organization of a new Government, and preceding which, the discussion of all the essential principles of government would be absolutely essential. Thus far time and strength have been more than absorbed in the first and most important purpose of providing the Paper with pecuniary sustenance, and the proposed work of discussing and elucidating these principles has been but partially and poorly attended to. But the bare continuance of a reform paper, started under such unfavorable circumstances, almost every one fearing and predicting failure, is of itself a gratifying success. This success, if any conceivable sacrifices will avail, shall be secured.

The position the NEW REPUBLIC sustains towards the present Government, is, I trust, by its regular readers at least, plainly understood. For many years, ever since I have been a voter in fact, I have been no worshiper, or voluntary supporter, of this or any other Government. I have regarded, and publicly and privately spoken of, all existing governments as conspiracies against human rights, and the enemies and enslavers, rather than the friends and protectors of mankind. I have not changed my opinion. And, consistent or otherwise, whatever I may have said, or may continue to say, in favor of sustaining the Government, under the present peculiar circumstances, I wish not construed into any endorsement of the false and unjust principles, or oppressive and murderous practices, by which all governments are more or less characterized.

Different men, holding different views and occupying different positions, have different obligations and duties. All who believe in the present Government and Union, are bound to give to the former, for its maintenance and the restoration of the latter, all possible energy, and means, and endorsement.

The man who believes in the Government, and in armed efforts for its maintenance (and the former includes the latter) is highly culpable if he does not do all in his power, even to the sacrifice of personal comfort, to render the Government aid in its present need and peril. But the man who does not believe in government, backed by the sword, incurs no such obligation. And this principle is recognized in the exemption of Quakers from military duty. I would counsel no one to give the Government any support that he can not give with the approval of his conscience.

The support I feel bound to give the Government is, perhaps, more passive than active. I feel that an active opposition to the Government in the way of exposing and denouncing its oppression, and inherent and essential rottenness, that was called for and appropriate in years past, would now be out of place, at least in one who regards, as I do, its downfall at no distant day as among the inevitables. I would treat kindly the murderer about to die. If it is said that the Government is a wholesale murderer, I admit it, and will be one to help set it aside, at whatever hazard, the moment I can see that Humanity's greatest good can be thus subserved. I believe now that the anarchy that will succeed the overthrow of the Government, will inaugurate the darkest hour our country will have to pass. And this anarchy will be lessened and made less dreadful by every truly conservative means that can be brought to bear, and by every peaceful and orderly feeling that can be promoted.

What will be the immediate and especial means of the Government's downfall, I do not know. There are a variety of causes, any one of which may at last be the immediate cause:—The success of the Rebellion, combined with foreign interference on an extensive scale; disruption at the North, growing out of the hatred of the Democratic Party on the one hand, and serious dissatisfaction of those who favor a vigorous prosecution of the war on the other, between whom the Administration will find itself without that hearty support, which, with its overwhelming responsibilities, will be absolutely essential to even its continued existence; a failure of pecuniary resources, not at all impossible if the war is prolonged indefinitely at the present rate of exhaustion;—any of these causes (if all do not combine to overwhelm,) may prove "the straw that shall break the camel's back." It matters not.

It is already the opinion of many thoughtful men, and as true patriots as live, that the subjugation of the South is an impossibility. If this proves true, the Government is at an end. There was no provision made, in the organic construction, for the withdrawal of States. One of two things is inevitable: the Rebellion must be utterly crushed, the revolting States brought back to their allegiance, and the Union re-established as before, each State having all its equal rights and powers; or, the Government

and the Union are at an end. The Union is a union of ALL THE STATES. A union of part of the States would be a new and a different union. The Government is a government of the whole Country. If the Government can not be maintained over the whole Country, it is no longer the Government. The trial is being made. I confess I have not for a moment had a particle of faith that the Union could be restored and the Government maintained. And while I have no heart to offer my life to the accomplishment of the hopeless task, (even if, with Slavery, the restoration of the Union were desirable,) on the other hand I have no wish to throw any obstacles in the way of the Government at this hour. The time may come, when, from the utter hopelessness of the case, and the thoroughly proven inefficiency of the Government, it may be the wish and wisdom of the people to rally for a vigorous and determined effort to establish freedom and order, under some leader, like Fremont, who shall be likely to do something effective. When that moment arrives, if at all, it will be time for honest men to ask themselves their duty. I imagine that by that time there will be little reverence for antiquated forms, or embalmed mummies.

My hope for the future is in the destruction, the using up, of the elements of the present discord. The calm will succeed the storm only because the storm will have spent its wrath. We shall have Freedom because Slavery will have destroyed itself. We shall have a new Government, promoting order, and justice, and freedom, because the old will have fallen by its own weight of corruption and imbecility. I do not look for a cure for the present troubles. The accumulated corruption of almost a century, is not to be purged from the National system in a day. The fever must have its "run." The patient will survive, greatly weakened, yet purified and prepared for healthful life.

The time for the organization of the new Government will be, most likely, after the peace. The work will devolve upon those uncorrupted by party influences, or political ambition. The Government will be exceedingly simple. The people will then, by reason of the exceeding profligacy and extravagance in government, and the crushing burdens growing therefrom, be prepared for a Government so simple and economical, as to hardly seem, in the absence of display and imposed burdens, to be a government. The expenses of Government, in time of peace, should be next to nothing. And yet a Government may be organized, in the highest degree and to the furthest extent simple and economical, and for vigor and efficiency be such that by the side of it our present lumbering, extravagant, inefficient affair, would seem an unbearable nuisance.

F. B.

No power under Heaven, or in Heaven, can confer on any man the right to fill any position, or sustain any relation, which his qualifications do not fit him to fill, or sustain, to the best advantage of all concerned.

F. B.

Chastity of Style.

We have received a communication, called out by Mr. Kent's article on "Love and Lust," (in addition to the one we publish this week,) written, I doubt not, by a gentleman of intelligence and candor, and yet, it seems to me, so unfortunate in its style as to disincline me from giving it publicity. If I know myself I am in favor of the freest and most thorough discussion of all conceivable questions; and the New Republic shall fail for want of support before it shall succeed by shutting out the discussion of unpopular subjects. There are questions, however, in the handling of which care should be taken (indeed the instincts of all refined, spiritual and delicate persons would so prompt) that none but the most chaste, though plain, language be used. I have no care to prevent prudishness from being shocked. Vulgarity is no further removed from purity than prudishness.

No coarse, or uncouth, or harsh, or vulgar language should be used with reference to any subject. Yet there is about Love, and all that pertains to it, a sacredness that forbids its being approached other than modestly and reverently. I know its sacred temple has been profanely entered, and profane and brutish hands have thrown down its altars, and like Jesus when he drove out the money-changers, I would have the defenders of Love's innocence and freedom no less bold and fearless; but let us avoid even the appearance of an imitation of that coarse vulgarity that characterizes the mass of mind in its view of this subject.

F. B.

Patriotic Sacrifice.

The papers tell us that the church bells at the South are being converted into cannon, and that the ladies are giving their jewelry to the cause; there not being—so it is claimed—a single lady in the whole South with more than fifty dollars' worth of jewelry left.

As for church bells—bells that have been used to call people together to worship a slave-holding god—a god that sanctions the most horrid crimes, if only perpetrated against the black man, or the black man's imagined friends—they could hardly be put to a use that would not better serve the interests of Humanity, even if it be to shoot the brother Christians of these man-stealers, who, as a class, have always sustained them in their hellish work of stealing men, whipping women and selling babies.

Those "ladies" who have lived all their lives in luxurious idleness on the unpaid toil of others, and are now willing to get along with fifty dollars' worth of jewelry, will, it is to be hoped, so thoroughly learn the lesson of retributive justice, as to become in a measure useful and worthy members of society.

F. B.

In all cases the freedom to dissolve relations should be equal to the freedom to enter relations.

F. B.

Love and Jealousy.

I have perused with much interest and pleasure the article by Austin Kent, in No. 17 of the *NEW REPUBLIC*, and I am glad even to tears, to find that some souls, be they ever so few, are endeavoring to cultivate the strange plant of human affection, until it shall open into the perfect flower. I suppose we all aspire to this degree of excellence, and every soul believes it cherishes just the right kind of love for its favorite, and affirms the generosity and unselfishness of its attachment, as sincerely as any convert professes he has renounced the world for the cause of Christ. But the spirit must be tried, and its principles tested, before we are revealed unto ourselves; and the terrible ordeals which our limited affection must often undergo, are like the sufferings of one who submits to the surgeon's knife, that the blessing of health may be obtained.

We all write of love from our own experiences, and only pen down the words that have been stereotyped in our hearts. It is a study we take to and attempt early, and it is full of the dearest and the saddest lessons. But all the dearth, all the sadness, only helps us from the Primary into the Advanced Class, and we continue to go on until death, through a progressive series, toward a perfect graduation.

I agree with Mr. Kent that the soul that knows not jealousy or hate, loves all men and all women; or in other words, I believe that a high degree of charity, and benevolence toward all Humanity, counteracts the sentiment of jealousy. Self is forgotten and drowned in the grandeur and breadth of our sympathies and affections, and our own joy consists in the increased happiness and content of our loved ones.

If I chance to look upon a radiant, particular star, I will be grateful that I, with all others, am blessed with its beauty; and if I am so fortunate as to find the most rare and fragrant blossom, I will not pin it on my bosom and charge it to only breathe out fragrance for myself, but leaving it in its natural element and proper place, I will thank God that I with many others can acknowledge the elevating influence of its existence. I am not sure that my own attractions of person, intellect, or soul, are sufficient to satisfy the larger, nobler spirit of the one I love; therefore I will not stint or starve him, but will be glad as a child that I am allowed to contribute only in part to the large demands of a great and good nature.

Mr. Kent says, "Mature love has perfect confidence in the object or objects loved." I do not know as I quite understand that remark. Does he mean that if my love for an individual is mature, I shall have perfect confidence that the individual, in every situation, and under all circumstances, will give me the highest place in his estimation and regard, and that I shall not consider it possible or probable that another will supplant me in his affec-

tions? or does he mean I shall have such a trust in the judgment and nature of the man, that I shall know his soul will seek after that only which it needs for its own happiness and development? I can not think I am to understand it in the former sense, for no one can have so high an opinion of themselves, as to suppose there is no other person who possesses attractions superior to their own, and who may have a greater power to command admiration and win affection; and if I accept the latter interpretation, I must clothe my loved ones with certain attributes of perfection, with which I have never yet invested any individual. Where is the soul that we can trust so much as to believe that it will never err in its judgments, commit no errors in its choice or selections, nor ever once misplace the riches of its love? We can never have such a trust, unless we believe man more divine than human.

But thanks to the Father of all affection, there is a love to which we can attain, so permanent, so mature, so God-like, that it will never be lessened or changed by a knowledge of the frailties, shortcomings and misjudgments of its object. Set like an unfading star in the firmament of mind, it sails in saintly majesty high above the reach of jealousy. If I possess such a love for an individual, the fact that another shares his regard, will fail to wound my pride, or awake my resentment; but the tendrils of my heart will twine around both, reaching after every thing that can contribute to his happiness or enjoyment. So it is not because I have so much confidence in him as to believe him always true, always perfect in judgment, that my jealousy is not aroused, but because my love is founded in charity, and a forgetfulness of self; so that my happiness consists only in making him happy.

It is a love that pardons all things, and survives all things. No, I am in the wrong there. There may be an element in the nature of one we love, which, if roused into action, is sure to change our regard, and if persisted in will as certainly quite kill out our affection. I hardly need say it is Jealousy, a brand hissing hot with Hell's own fire. Heaven pity the suffering one who carries it about in his or her bosom, and God protect you if you chance to be the unfortunate victim who kindles it into life. Nothing can be done rightly after that; your virtues are fixed over into failings; your conduct, glances, and actions, are caught up and wrongly interpreted; you must walk upon a hair line—if you deviate to the right or the left, the green-eyed serpent is ready to make the most of your failures; the dear friendships you have cherished are broken; you may flee to the uttermost parts of the Earth, but the viper will follow you so long as it exists, and its poisonous slime will make slippery every path you tread. It is its binding evils that fetter you, and not the marriage law. The marriage tie never frets the spirit if our love has developed out of the atmosphere of Jealousy. But you may abjure the law, and follow the

wise example of the birds; yet if your soul contains only a narrow love, you are fastening bonds about the spirit of your lover, fettering his or her freedom, and crushing out all happiness. In such a case there is but one remedy or relief—a steady resolve and aim to develop our imperfect love into a higher, better, and purer affection. Yet as there are some minds who never know more of religion than that which they experience in the excitement of a revival, so I am inclined to think that some souls can never experience a larger affection in this world than that which is subject to jealousy. In both cases, as Mr. Kent has remarked, the sentiment in action is unnaturally excited and diseased.

There is a love, or perhaps I may call it a whirlwind of passion and fancy, that sometimes overwhelms us in its force, or like a ship under full sail it bears straight down upon us, catches us up as we drift over the tide, and bears us, not always as we dream to green and beautiful isles, but oftener to barren shores, or wrecks us upon the cruel breakers of life. I believe this affection or passion to be always narrow, always immature, and therefore carries about with it, though perhaps unconsciously, the poison of jealousy.

There is another love that steals gradually upon us like the dawning of day. We feel a calm attraction, and never dream it is more than a friendly regard springing up in the mind. We name it respect, and all the while a calm, serene trust draws us nearer and nearer to the soul we reverence, till at last we awake to the consciousness that the golden sun of Love has filled all the heaven of mind with a serene radiance. It seems to me that such a love, from the nature of its origin and growth, is incapable of jealousy; and I am ready to acknowledge with the Editor of the *NEW REPUBLIC*, that this incapability is perhaps because of the supreme trust which we have in the individual loved. Yet I can not think this is all. There is a certain trust we have in ourselves, in the power, magnitude, and generosity of our love, that has much to do about it. I am not sure as I can make myself understood, because it is an elevated and peculiar attitude of the mind, which can scarcely be painted or defined with words. There is a perfect independence in the soul, that enables us to feel that although the attractions of another may win a loved one from our side, yet certainly no affection can be found more noble, magnanimous, and forgetful of self, than our own; and we have such a faith in the purity of our love, that we no more feel it can be wronged, than we believe we have the power to injure God. It is above all wrong, and believes its power is sufficient to reach after and protect its object, under every trial, and wherever it may stray. It knows no separation. Other loves, or the intervening of hill and dale, break no ties. It demands nothing, asks nothing; for such a love has its reward within itself. It is calm in its own strength, knowing it is able to bring its object

finally home to itself, however widely it may wander, even as the God we love will finally gather all souls into his bosom in spite of the machinations of evil. It follows its object with its redeeming influence down the valley of death, and rises up with it deathless and glorious in Eternity.

A WOMAN.

REMARKS.

I would be appreciative of a natural, a beautiful and a sensible freedom. Rather, I believe in freedom in all departments, always and everywhere. There is nothing in the principle of Freedom that implies any thing false or base, or favors or allows the slightest infringement of any right of any human being. Freedom in one department is the same as freedom in another. In the same sense, for the same reasons and with the same arguments, do we defend freedom in all departments. Whoever defends freedom anywhere, is forever stopped from objecting to freedom everywhere. If I advocate freedom in thought, I am not responsible for men's errors, though they adopt them with my consent. I am not false to Truth, though I am opposed to crucifying, or imprisoning, or scourging those who embrace error. Freedom to embrace error, is the surest and speediest road to truth.

The multiplied and unanswerable arguments that may be urged in favor of freedom in thought, may with equal propriety and force be urged in favor of freedom in Love. Only bigotry, and prejudice, and narrowness, and stupidity, and selfishness, and grossness are opposed to freedom in love;—meaning by freedom here just what we mean by it elsewhere, using the term in this connection just as we use it in other connections.

Advocating as I do the broadest freedom, and wishing to be understood as no other than an outspoken, and uncompromising, and unapologizing advocate of such freedom, I feel that there is no work to which I am more attracted, or in which I can be more useful, than in criticising and exposing some of the (to me) crude and false views of freedom entertained by some of its well-meaning friends on the one hand, as well as grosser and falser views of its enemies on the other.

Freedom is the right of each and every individual to be true to himself or herself; to obey the laws of his or her own being; to be the only and sole judge of the propriety, beauty, naturalness, or beneficence of feelings, manifestations or relations, so far and so long as the rights of other parties are not involved. Of course there can be no arbitrary rules laid down by one person or set of persons, for the government of others. No two persons are on precisely the same plane of development; no two have natures, aspirations and wants precisely alike, and no one can judge for another, always and in every minutæ, just what for that individual is natural and proper. While as an advocate and defender of Freedom, I deny to society the right to dictate to the individual,

further than to insist that the rights of all shall be respected, and that costs growing out of individual action shall be assumed by the individual, I deny equally to the advocates of freedom, the right to assume that all other advocates of freedom are to adopt their feelings and tastes as the standard of action. What is freedom to me if I can not be true to myself? I care not who dictates to me—whether it be done in the garb of despotism or pretended freedom—I must disregard the dictation. An enforced exclusiveness on the one hand, and an indiscriminate “freedom” on the other, are alike repulsive. The one is despotism itself, the other the extreme which arbitrary arrangements always induce.

With all possible respect for the writer of the foregoing article, I must believe that the idea of loving “all men and all women,” grows out of an arbitrary denial of the right to love the men and women who are really lovable. I may and should feel kind and benevolent toward every living being, human or animal, but it is simply nonsense and absurdity to talk of loving all. Will my friend allow me one or two plain questions? Were your husband a gross profligate, instead of the gentleman of refinement and culture that he is, and in the habit of seeking the society and the love of the lewd and promiscuous, would your love for these be of such a nature and degree as to make you satisfied with, and happy in, those relations of his? From your own statements I must conclude that you would, and yet the idea to me is monstrous. That you should have perfect confidence in him, and be made greatly happy by whatever makes him happy, I can readily understand, and I trust fully appreciate, but I can only understand and appreciate on the supposition that his nature like your own is refined and select, and that he could not possibly be attracted to do what would seem unbecoming to you.

Let me suppose another case. I have a sister, young, innocent, lovable; she meets a polished, magnetic, attractive, intellectually cultivated, but selfish and unprincipled “man of the world.” I know him to be such, yet she believes him to be the embodiment of all that is manly, noble and honorable. He seeks her love, and wins it. Wins only to wound, and for aught he cares, destroy. Can I, or could I if developed to the true plane, so “love” that man as to contemplate the relation with feelings of satisfaction and happiness? I think not. I have no love for scoundrelism, and am not even developed to the point of wishing to have.

I have unbounded faith in the ultimate triumph of Truth, and believe in the usefulness of all experiences. I see that the errors, mistakes and crudities of the transition, have their use. But, temporarily, the extreme notions of the would-be advocates of truth, have the effect to disgust and discourage. There is no more important truth than the truths which pertain to love and its relations, and no more important reform than that which proposes to do away with the horrors and impurities of the arbi-

trary marriage institution, but extreme views, though the natural result of their opposite extreme, are not calculated to attract the class most desirable as endorsers and advocates of a valued truth.

F. B.

Object and End of Governments.

We are supposed to exist, at least where thought and expression are free, for our own happiness and good. The single object we have in life is to better ourselves—materially first, and spiritually afterwards. In order to accomplish this soonest, we choose to put ourselves rather under self-restraint than under the unqualified control of others. We gradually become—in the language of Paul—a “law unto ourselves”; and, as Emerson says, if a man thinks that a very easy-going statute to live by, let him set out to keep its provisions conscientiously but for one day.

It is not to be forgotten that we do not belong to the Government; the Government belongs to us. That is the creature; we are the creators. If it is not so, it is because we have forgotten ourselves by being untrue to ourselves, and have surrendered a power which belongs to us alone. Whenever that day comes, when men cringingly look up to ask what fate Government is going to measure out to them, there is no longer any use in talking for freedom; we have become servile then, and sold out our first rights to the men who stood ready to trade upon them to their own personal advantage.

Many carelessly suppose that about all that we construct a form of government for is to make it look imposing to outside nations, and give them an idea of our strength and importance. They appear to consider themselves entirely subordinate and secondary in the whole plan; as if they were the mere insects composing the splendid coral reef, or the mere stones or bricks that went to make up the noble wall. They have but a limited idea, or notion, of the ends of government, at best. It may be true enough that, as foreign governments have been constructed—obtaining power by simply usurping it, and everywhere trampling on the rights of the individual in order to build up and strengthen itself—this notion of such persons is founded in fact. But this Government of ours was the first example, in the history of the modern world, of a great people coming forward and voluntarily pledging themselves, in the form of a regularly established Constitution, to see that justice was mutually done all over the lapd. This is a government made by the people, for their own use and good; foreign governments are greater or less tyrannies, placed *volens volens* upon the necks of “subjects,” who, from time to time, revolt at their burdens and procure moderate alleviation by throes of passion and violence.

—[Banner of Light.

PROSPECTUS OF THE NEW REPUBLIC.

At a time so momentous as the present, there is an imperative demand for the exercise of all the wisdom, heroism, self-sacrifice, charity, and the forgetting of all past differences, and the sinking of all worldly ambition, in one sublime, prayerful, determined, brotherly effort to save our beloved country from the terrible ruin that more than threatens to swallow up our liberties, prosperity, peace. How to conquer the rebels, is not all of the great problem that must be settled before there is any certainty that we, as a Nation, have anything in the future to hope for.

The New REPUBLIC has two leading and distinctive objects: First, by humble and modest, but earnest and thorough effort, to promote, to the fullest extent of its ability, that fraternity of feeling among all parties and classes of society, on which our salvation so vitally depends. Second, to discuss, in a free, untrammelled manner, but in no partisan, dogmatical or dictatorial spirit, all of those fundamental and practical questions and principles of Government and human rights which the adjustment of our National politics will involve.

Society is divided into three distinct and leading classes. The Radical Reformer, the Liberal Conservative, and the opponent of Progress. The tendencies of the times are toward a union of the first two classes. No radical reform or idea has been advocated, but has embodied an important, though possibly mixed and partial truth. The agitation of single reforms, has been useful mainly in the way of preparing the public mind for a comprehensive understanding and thorough adjustment of, the great political and social questions that lie at the basis of our National happiness and well-being. The law of extremes and equilibrium is a universal law. Extremisms in reform have been necessary to balance the opposite extreme of stationary conservatism. The illustration has been that of extremes; the tendency now is toward equilibrium.

The aim of the New REPUBLIC will be to combine an earnest and energetic radicalism with a wise conservatism. It will advocate all rational reforms, and seek to promote a greater unity of feeling, and concert of action, and comprehensiveness of view, among all classes of reformers. It will take sides with no party, and will never be involved in personal or party quarrels, of any kind, or in any degree. So far as it acknowledges and follows leadership, Jesus Christ will be its standard in morals, and Thomas Jefferson in politics. It will advocate a reconstruction in our Government so far as to allow of a settlement of the Slavery question in such a manner as not to involve the sacrifice of justice, freedom, human rights, a sound policy and the Nation's safety, on the one hand, or unconstitutional and despotic methods on the other. It will advocate a radical revolution in politics and governmental administration, so far as there has been a departure from the Jeffersonian Platform, and systematic and persistent violation of the fundamental principles of the Government. It will be an especial advocate of simplicity and economy in Government, and attempt to demonstrate the correctness of the doctrine that "that Government is best that governs least." It will advocate a uniform and national system of currency, a uniform and humane system of prison discipline, uniform marriage and divorce laws, a new and improved system of representation, and present suggestive ideas on the subject of schools, internal improvements, post-office regulations &c. It will also give the thoughts of the ablest writers on Anthropological and Physiological science.

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